

Massacre in Malta—Contra Murder in Nicaragua

Reagan's Terrorists

DECEMBER 9—The world got a taste of Ronald Reagan's "war on terrorism" recently, and 57 innocent people lost their lives. The fiery carnage took place in Malta, but this massacre was clearly made in U.S.A.

Now even more than fear of being hijacked, air travelers are scared stiff of being "rescued." Well they should be—from KAL Flight 007 to Egyptair Flight 648, the rulers of the "free world" have made it clear they consider airline passengers as pawns in their Cold War against the Soviet Union and its "surrogates." And as "Rambo" Reagan, along with his Egyptian and Israeli allies, turn the Mediterranean into a sea of death and destruction, imperialist-backed "contras" are spreading state-supported terrorism from Afghanistan to Nicaragua.

It began as another one of those Near East skyjackings: ten minutes out of Athens airport, the Egyptian airliner was seized by "three to five" hijackers, reportedly members of a "pro-Libyan" Palestinian group. But as the gunmen were collecting passports they approached a plainclothes Egyptian "security guard," who opened fire, triggering a shoot-out in the air. The guard was shot up, possibly along with some passengers, and the rattled kidnapers told the plane to land at Malta. But the nightmare had just begun.

Once on the ground, the hijackers started shooting one passenger every 15 or 30 minutes, demanding fuel for the aircraft which the Maltese government refused. It was cold-blooded murder. Six bodies were dumped off the plane, assumed dead, although most actually survived. At the same time, a number of passengers, mostly women, were al-



Sygma

Carnage in Malta: Egyptian commandos sort through bodies of passengers killed in Reagan-inspired assault.

lowed to leave, indicating a possible opening for negotiations, or at least to stall for time. But it was not to be—a Reaganite "counterterrorist" operation was already in the works.

Following the hijacking of a TWA airliner to Beirut earlier this year, Reagan told a press conference, "After seeing *Rambo* last night, I know what to do next time." So when the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro* was hijacked by a squad of incompetent Palestinian terrorists in October, the celluloid terrorist put his shoot-'em-up fantasies into action. Dispatching fighter jets from

U.S. aircraft carriers on station in the Mediterranean, he brazenly ordered the skyjacking of the Egyptian 737 on which the ship hijackers were being spirited out of the country.

Humiliated by the *Achille Lauro* affair, Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak decided it was time to "stand tall" like Reagan. (Ironically, the airliner in Malta was the very same craft which a few weeks earlier the Americans had forced down in Sicily!) There would be no negotiations with the hijackers—that would be considered "soft on terrorism." It was time for a bold "anti-

terrorist" stroke. As soon as Egyptian commandos landed in Malta, they attacked immediately, not even attempting to surprise the Palestinian hijackers.

Who directly caused the explosion and ensuing fire which led to the deaths of most of the passengers is unclear, though claims that the hijackers threw phosphorus grenades are evidently false. But that is immaterial: the Palestinian terrorists had already shown they were murderers, and the Egyptian commandos made no effort whatsoever to limit casualties. Passengers reported that they entered the aircraft firing indiscriminately. But the results brought cheers from the U.S., which lauded the "firm action."

Secretary of State George Shultz exulted, "the way to get after these people is to get after them with both barrels"—and to hell with the hostages they're supposedly trying to rescue! The slaughter was right in line with Reagan's 1984 National Security Decision Directive 138, calling for pre-emptive and reprisal "counterterrorist" terrorist strikes. It was putting into practice the mercenary slogan, "kill 'em all and let god sort them out." While publicly claiming that the execution of the assault was "an Egyptian action," the White House clearly wanted to take credit for macho "firmness." And it turns out that the Egyptian commandos were accompanied by three U.S. officers, including Brigadier General Robert Wiegand, who trained Special Forces at Fort Bragg (*Washington Post*, 3 December).

This was only the tip of the iceberg of American involvement in the Malta

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For a Bolshevik Party!

South Africa: Black Union Federation Launched

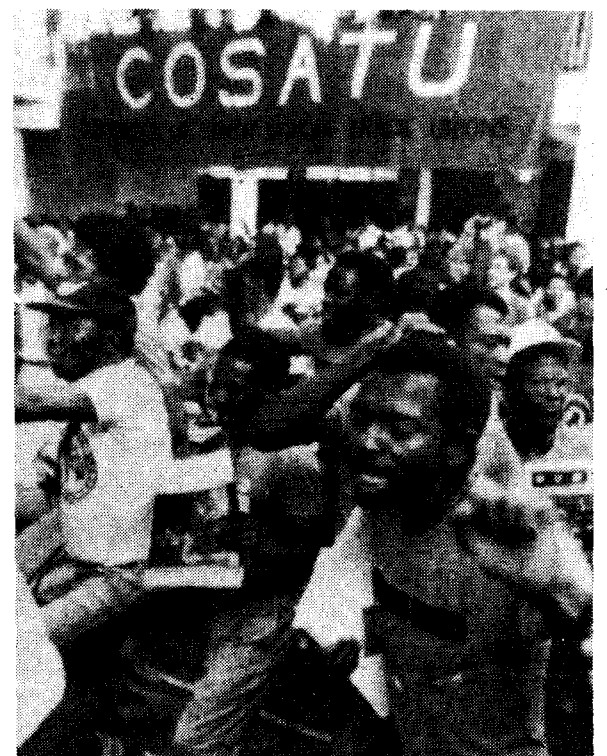
Singing freedom songs and sporting red T-shirts with the slogan, "One country, one federation," 10,000 black South African workers rallied at King's Stadium in the port city of Durban on December 1 to launch the Congress of South African Trade Unions. In founding COSATU, with its half-million members, South Africa's overwhelmingly black proletariat has created its strongest organization in a century of struggle against hideous superexploitation by apartheid capitalism.

From the Witwatersrand mining houses to Wall Street board rooms, the capitalists are well aware that this "super-federation" with 34 member unions covering the mines, harbors, transport, metal

industries and retail trade has the power to bring the South African economy to a standstill. Coming after almost 18 months of continuous nationwide revolt, COSATU's birth expressed above all the desire of the black toilers to utterly smash apartheid.

But trade unionism, however militant, is not enough to liberate the non-white masses of South Africa, or even to significantly ameliorate the hellish conditions in which they work and "live." Any serious class struggle against the white supremacist bosses and their police state poses the question of *power*. For the oppressed to emerge victorious from the inevitable civil war, they must be organized and

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AFP

Durban: Delegates cheer the formation of COSATU, the strongest black labor organization in South African history.

Anti-Trotskyist Regroupment Flunks

It was billed as a two-day conference of "Trotskyists and revolutionary socialists," but there was certainly nothing revolutionary about this *anti-Trotskyist* confab. The "unity" conference that wasn't was brokered by one Steve Bryant, lone U.S. supporter of British ex-Healyite Alan Thornett. (Bryant, who changes organizational affiliation as often as he changes his socks, currently goes by the handle of Workers Socialist League.) Among the topics listed for discussion were, "What do we mean by Trotskyism? Do we need to expand upon it, re-evaluate it, find new ways to apply it, get rid of some of it?"

For the two dozen turkeys and leftovers that gathered Thanksgiving weekend in San Francisco, this was clearly a rhetorical question. Answering the "unity" call were Harry Turner, now calling himself the "International Socialist League" (after a self-admitted "purely organizational" split from the Morenoite IWP); Margaret Brecht's Trotskyist Organization; Kay Ellens' Spark; Clara Kaye's Freedom Socialist Party; and assorted gadflies like ex-Socialist Workers Party member David Keil, who's made a profession of the rotten-bloc business. There were almost more "organizations" present or invited than people attending.

Most of these Trotskyoid *lider minimos* have spent the bulk of their political lives splashing around in their own puddles. But now that Jack Barnes has openly renounced Trotskyism and expelled scores of old SWP cadres, Bryant et al. want to get in the swim. "What went wrong with the SWP?" was one of the questions up for discussion. There's a lot of ex-SWPers out there, Bryant noted, but their choices for new homes "are all too numerous." The problem for these centrist minnows is that they're not substantial enough to be bait for the bigger fish in the

reformist swamp.

Including Barnes' outfit, the "United Secretariat" of Ernest Mandel now has no less than *four* affiliated groups in the U.S.! But Bryant's appeal didn't net any of them. Among the groups issuing from the SWP purge, Nat Weinstein's Socialist Action is oriented toward a wing of the Bay Area trade-union bureaucracy. The Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT) is hopelessly wedded to getting back into the SWP. Socialist Unity has other fish to fry, looking toward "left" social-democratic forces for a fusion with Workers Power and other remnants of the Shachtmanite International Socialists.

In reality, they've all abandoned the Trotskyist position on the Russian question. "What do we really think about the USSR today?" was Bryant's appeal to the "Third Camp." The touchstone for this "unity" movement is support for Polish Solidarność' counterrevolutionary bid to restore capitalism. Thereby they abandon the urgent duty for class-conscious workers to defend the degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc against the imperialist war drive. Significantly, one of the invited groups was the Russia-hating Revolutionary Socialist League.

The big unmentionable was the Spartacist League, which in the wake of the demise of Barnes' SWP has become *the* recognized Trotskyist organization in the U.S. The SL is the only left opposition expelled from the SWP to establish itself as a viable international tendency, precisely because of our programmatic consistency. Anyone proposing to seriously discuss Trotskyism and the SWP must come to grips with the SL. But our request for an observer was flatly turned down. You couldn't ask for a clearer exposure of Bryant's empty Trotskyist pretensions.

But then that's not what they were about at all. The conference theme, "Your Trotskyism and Ours," was an obvious take-off on Jack Barnes' speech, "Their Trotsky and Ours," in which he condemns the founder of the Fourth International as an "ultraleft" and rejects the permanent revolution. While we were persona non grata, naturally the "External Tendency of the international Spartacist tendency" (now rechristened the "Bolshevik Tendency"), a coterie of embittered ex-members who quit the SL with the advent of the Reagan years, was effusively welcomed. Evidently the criteria for attendance were: 1) you had to be able to pronounce it "Trotskyist"

and not "Trotskyite" (that would be too Stalinist); 2) you couldn't be a Spartacist (that would be too Trotskyist).

Just in time for Bryant's "unity" conference *manqué*, the latest *Spartacist* documenting and analyzing the split in the British Healyites appeared. We sold 15 copies, to over half the participants. One of the hapless attendees remarked upon seeing our sales team, "Is this where the real discussion is?" We certainly know where it wasn't. As for the conference, we can only quote Oscar Wilde's remark about the favorite sport of the British aristocracy, fox hunting: a case of the "unspeakable in full pursuit of the uneatable." To that we add, "Bon Appétit." ■

Free Speech Under Attack at Berkeley

All Out to Defend Guillermo Bermúdez!

The University of California/Berkeley, home of the Free Speech Movement, has again taken center stage in anti-imperialist protests, as leftist students fight cop beatings, legal frame-ups and administrative reprisals. In the last year, *hundreds* of anti-apartheid militants, opponents of ROTC and U.S. war moves on Central America have been arrested on trumped-up charges, but so far the UC administration has failed to net even one conviction. Now the university has set up its own kangaroo court, the Office of Student Conduct, as a political purge body to weed out the "troublemakers" and intimidate all opponents of U.S. imperialism.

UC's frame-up of Guillermo Bermúdez, a Hispanic Berkeley student and member of the Spartacus Youth League, is key to the administration's drive to quash political protest. Guillermo was arrested last January for leading a successful protest against Marine recruiters. Fearing that their lying charges that Guillermo assaulted the cops who nearly choked him to death and broke his arm wouldn't stand up in court, the university hauled Guillermo into a star chamber hearing on December 5 in a blatant attempt to pre-empt his trial in the Berkeley municipal courts.

SYL members built a spirited picket line outside this kangaroo court, chanting, "Down with UC's inquisitions! Try the cops, not their victims!" Inside, noted civil rights attorney and counsel for Bermúdez, Howard Moore, charged that the "hearing" was a flagrant



Young Spartacus

SYLer Guillermo Bermúdez

violation of Guillermo's constitutional rights. After two hours of debate, the university insisted on their prerogative to determine "legitimate" or "illegitimate" student conduct and moved to continue the hearing on January 30.

Meanwhile, Guillermo's court case is set to go to trial on December 16. All out to defend Guillermo! Pack the courtroom! An important index of support for Guillermo is the nearly \$2,000 that has been raised door-to-door in Berkeley. But it will take a lot more than this to beat these charges in court. We appeal to all *Workers Vanguard* readers to make a contribution today. Make checks payable to the Guillermo Bermúdez Defense Fund. Mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101. ■



TROTSKY

Defense of the Soviet Union

For Trotsky, defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack was central to the regroupment of revolutionary forces into a new Fourth International, key to defending the gains of the Russian October. Today, this question is, if anything, even more urgent for those who seek to reforge the world party of socialist revolution.



LENIN

Every big war, irrespective of its initial motives, must pose squarely the question of military intervention against the USSR in order to transfuse fresh blood into the sclerotic veins of capitalism.

The indubitable and deepgoing bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet state as well as the national-conservative character of its foreign policy do not change the social nature of the Soviet Union as that of the first workers' state. All kinds of democratic, idealistic, ultraleft and anarchistic theories, ignoring the character of Soviet property relations, which is socialistic in its tendencies, and denying or glossing over the class contradiction between the USSR and the bourgeois state, must lead inevitably, and especially in case of war, to counterrevolutionary political conclusions.

Defense of the Soviet Union from the blows of the capitalist enemies, irrespective of the circumstances and immediate causes of the conflict, is the elementary and imperative duty of every honest labor organization.

—Leon Trotsky, "War and the Fourth International" (June 1934)

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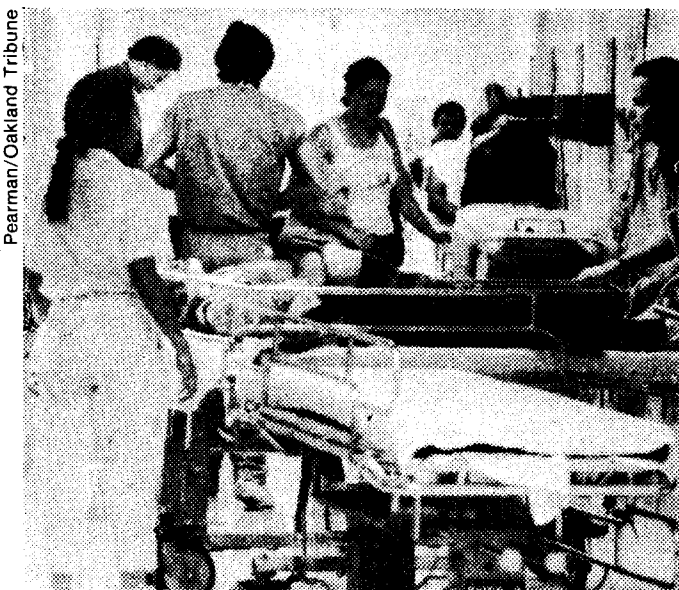
Death by "Dumping" at Oakland's Highland Hospital

OAKLAND, December 7—Sharon Ford is black and poor in Reagan's racist America, and that is why her baby is dead. The Richmond, California woman, nine months pregnant, went into labor December 1. Sharon knew something was going wrong, and she was in severe pain. Her husband rushed her to a nearby private hospital, which refused to admit her. The desperate couple then drove to Oakland's private Merritt Hospital, where doctors confirmed that the umbilical cord was wrapped around the baby.

As Sharon Ford's pain increased, the hospital staff demanded to see an insurance card. Her distraught husband could not find the card in her purse at first, and by the time he did, the hospital's computer had already declared—falsely, as it turns out—that she did not have insurance. So the staff turned the couple away, telling them to go to the county hospital. By the time they got there and the baby was delivered, it was dead.

The obstetrician who made the last-ditch effort to save Sharon Ford's baby at Alameda County's Highland Hospital said, "This was a full-term baby that

Highland Hospital house of horrors.



would have been alive right now if the system hadn't shuffled her around." The baby's father, Lowell Thomas, asked, "Hell, what's my baby's life worth? Seventeen hundred? Eighteen hundred? Surely a life's worth more than that" (Oakland Tribune, 4 and 5 December).

But to America's racist rulers, the lives of black men, women and children

are worth less than nothing. While screaming about the "right to life" in order to whip up a reactionary anti-abortion frenzy, they condemn poor children to death every day in the charnel houses called "public hospitals." Fifty years ago black people bled to death because ambulances refused to take them to "whites only" hospitals. In

1985 the color bar comes at the front desk: "Pay now or die."

Racism and Death at Highland Hospital

Alameda County's Highland Hospital is a case in point. While the county is 82 percent white, its acute care hospital is located in the 47 percent black city of Oakland. Premeditated racist murder is the only name for the conscious, deliberate policy of slashing funds for Highland. Administered by the all-Democrat county Board of Supervisors, Highland Hospital is a dumping ground for the poorest and sickest people in the county, a house of horrors where conditions seem like they're out of another century.

Highland has been notorious for years, the subject of 23 county grand jury investigations, but matters have reached crisis proportions in recent months. Last August a State Health Board team descended on the hospital for a surprise inspection. And while the administrators screamed "witchhunt," the inspectors came up with a 38-page list of atrocities. As a result of complaints by the association of interns and residents and by the SEIU union, top hospital officials were forced out. But the appalling conditions at Highland Hospital are far more than a personnel problem. They're a reflection of the vicious cutbacks ravaging the nation's health care system.

The Health Board report cited filth everywhere, exposed feces and overflowing containers of infectious wastes, intensive care units with no hand-washing facilities. Surgery was performed without vital medical records. A dungeon-like basement "psychiatric court" holds hearings where

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Protest at S.F. General

Black Unionist Fights Jim Crow

SAN FRANCISCO—A major public hospital planned to build a special toilet so that white craftsmen wouldn't have to share one with a black worker. The Deep South during the heyday of Jim Crow? No, it's "liberal" San Francisco under Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein, in 1985. On November 12, Neil Humphrey, an administrator at San Francisco General Hospital, announced plans for a "separate but unequal" bathroom to ensure that Jeff Higgins, a black electrician, would not use the same facilities as the white carpenters and painters.

In response to this outrage, on December 4 some 60 militants including more than a dozen SF General workers struck back, joining in a spirited demonstration outside the hospital called by the Labor Black League for Social Defense. Demonstrators chanted: "Stop racist attacks at SF General—Stop union-busting!" "Down with Jim Crow—No white-only toilets!" and "1, 2, 3, 4—Time to finish the Civil War! 5, 6, 7, 8—Forward to a workers state!"

Protesters and the numerous sympathetic onlookers who watched the demonstration from open windows and the hospital balcony cheered as Higgins told the crowd: "In spite of the racist disciplinary warnings that I've been given, we in the Labor Black League for Social Defense are not intimidated. We know that black and working people have never won anything without a fight. And if it's a fight this racist administration wants, it's a fight they'll get!"

Frightened and embarrassed by this show of militancy the hospital bosses have reportedly dropped their plans for



Protest outside SF General Hospital called by Labor Black League for Social Defense, December 4. Inset: IBEW member Jeff Higgins, hospital's only black electrician.

a Jim Crow toilet. But these racists haven't surrendered. They're just retreating. Their new scheme is to add yet a third (!) door to the carpenters and painters bathroom—i.e., the intention is clearly that entrances in these shops will be for whites only! Down with segregation! Down with the SF General brass and their grotesque and obscene racist insults! The unions must immediately undertake a program of training and upgrading of minority workers for skilled positions.

The racism at the city-run hospital has been so blatant that the city Health Commission was forced to call a hearing on October 22. Twenty black hospital

workers attended, and witnesses detailed a pervasive pattern of racial slurs, demeaning job assignments, racist suspensions and firings. Several testified that supervisors routinely call them "my little boys and girls." The *San Francisco Chronicle* (23 October) quoted Higgins saying, "They don't want to use the same bathrooms as a black man... This is South Africa right here in San Francisco."

Among recent incidents at SF General:

- A ten-year black food-service worker with four children was thrown out of the kitchen by hospital police and faces a 15-day suspension for "insubordina-

tion and rude and impertinent [!] language"—because he told his white supervisor he wasn't responsible for preparing a particular food item and suggested she take care of it.

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NOTICE
Workers Vanguard
skips a week in
December.
Our next issue will be
dated January 3.

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

led by a class-conscious vanguard infused with the understanding that those who labor must rule.

A Bolshevik party in South Africa must be built in irreconcilable struggle against every kind of nationalism and popular frontism, counterposing the program of *permanent revolution*, for the emancipation and reconstruction of the oppressed nation under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Now is the time for internationalist revolutionaries—black African, coloured (mixed-race), Indian and white alike—to undertake the construction of communist nuclei, in and oriented toward the workers movement, laying the basis for a racially integrated Leninist workers party.

Black Unions and Petty-Bourgeois Nationalism

During the early 1980s independent black and coloured unions grew explosively and became the main organs of mass resistance to apartheid. However, since the revolts erupted in the black townships in September 1984, the



Work in Progress

Cyril Ramaphosa, leader of union of black mine workers.

potentially powerful organized black working class has been largely on the sidelines. Commenting on the formation of COSATU, the *New York Times* (1 December) observed:

"...in the last fourteen months of unrest, during which 900 people have been killed, community organizations in segregated black townships, rather than labor unions, have been at the forefront of protest. On only one occasion, a year ago, did labor unions mobilize their members, for a two-day work boycott that paralyzed many businesses in Johannesburg."

This is certainly *not* due to any lack of courage and combativity on the part of the ranks and organizers. Nor is it simply because of the labor movement's

fragmentation, a weakness which the "super-union" is intended to overcome. It is due to the absence of revolutionary leadership at the head of the workers movement. Union leaders have responded to the greatest crisis of the apartheid state in a generation with a narrow economism, on the one hand, and passive support to petty-bourgeois nationalism on the other.

The formation of COSATU certainly strengthens the economic power of black workers, and for this reason is to be welcomed by communists. But it also underscores the danger that the black working class will be used as cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism. The new federation is demonstrably closer to the liberal nationalist African National Congress (ANC) than were the main union groupings which came together to form COSATU.

Both the National Union of Mine-workers (NUM) and the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) had deliberately chosen *not* to affiliate to the United Democratic Front (UDF)—an all-embracing popular front bringing together everything from trade unions to sports clubs, religious councils and traders associations—behind which stands the ANC. But at the opening of the COSATU conference NUM leader Cyril Ramaphosa declared that workers "have to win the confidence of other classes" and "have to get into alliance with other progressive organizations."

This is fully in keeping with the ANC's long-standing strategy of seeking a deal with the "liberal" English-speaking bourgeoisie represented by Harry Oppenheimer and his Anglo American Corp., the mammoth mining and manufacturing conglomerate. The influence of ANC-style nationalism on COSATU is embodied in its president, the NUM's Elijah Barayi. In his inaugural speech, Barayi delivered a "last warning" to South African president P.W. Botha to "get rid of the pass laws and to withdraw the troops from the townships before the country burns":

"COSATU gives Botha six months to get rid of passes. If that does not take place we will burn the passes of the black man."

—*Guardian* [London],
2 December

Barayi also called on Botha to resign, to be replaced by imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela. His call for a defiance campaign recalls the pass-burnings of the 1950s against the hated document that brands every South African black person a foreigner and chattel in his own country. That campaign ended in the bloody massacre at Sharpeville in 1960, leading to the suppression of all organized resistance to apartheid for over a decade.

This historic disaster was prepared by a vain belief that the white supremacist regime would bend if defiant protesters



Mendel/AFP

Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, defies government ban in Mamelodi, demanding vengeance for martyred anti-apartheid fighters.

were willing to fill the jails. After the Sharpeville massacre the ANC abandoned nonviolence. But whether through guerrilla attacks or lobbying at the United Nations, it still pursues a policy of pressuring the apartheid regime to negotiate its own liquidation. For all his militant talk, Barayi echoed the weepy black liberals like Bishop Tutu when he called on the government to create conditions for peaceful change before it is too late.

If the top leadership of COSATU appears clearly in the ANC camp, those black unions which have remained outside the new federation represent the other main current of petty-bourgeois black nationalism, the Black Consciousness Movement which excludes whites, holding that only blacks can organize blacks. The largest of these groupings is the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), which has been rather tame in the workplace and is affiliated to the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The second main Black Consciousness labor group is the Azanian Congress of Trade Unions, allied with the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), which avows a "socialist" program that equates the class line with the race line. AZAPO opposes imperialist liberals like Teddy Kennedy, whom the ANC cultivates, while identifying "socialism" with Zimbabwe's tribally based, neocolonial despotism.

The issue of racial exclusionism in South African trade unions is far more than a tactical question. It is in the proletariat's interest that the union movement be open to all workers—black, coloured, Indian and white. Only class organization of the oppressed and exploited can transcend the tribal and ethnic divisions fostered by apartheid in its policy of "divide and rule." Furthermore, dedicated anti-apartheid white South Africans (like the martyred Neil Aggett) have played an important role in building the black unions.

Multiracialism in the South African labor movement points toward a genuinely multiracial South Africa under a black-centered workers government. Indeed, if post-apartheid South Africa is to be anything but a Zimbabwe writ large, there had better be a place for the white minority, with its relatively high level of cultural and technological skills, which can be a valuable resource in the socialist reconstruction of all Africa. But a multiracial South Africa can be built only on the basis of a workers revolution, not classless appeals for brotherly reconciliation.

Danger of Betrayal

The National Union of Mineworkers with 150,000 members is the largest and most important component of COSATU. The half million deeply oppressed migrant black gold miners stand at the

heart of South Africa's economy. The NUM is the first black union to really establish itself in the mines, and its development raises crucial questions about the direction of the whole union movement.

The general secretary of the NUM and the leading figure at the founding of COSATU is the articulate, ambitious 33-year-old lawyer Cyril Ramaphosa. After a spell in security police detention for his activities in the Black Consciousness Movement in the mid-'70s, Ramaphosa went on to serve on the board of the Urban Foundation, a fund launched by the Oppenheimer empire to promote a black middle class. When Anglo American decided—after a series of bloody wildcat strikes in the mines—to allow the growth of "responsible" unions with which it could bargain, Ramaphosa launched the NUM.

Harry Oppenheimer may have expected the NUM to behave something like a company union, but the practically slave labor conditions in the mining compounds have produced an explosive situation. Class struggle in the Witwatersrand gold fields in recent years has been especially bloody and desperate even by South African standards. The mine workers union has been involved in countless job actions, many of them attacked by police with tear gas, *sjamboks* (whips) and shotguns. If Ramaphosa has remained free while many other black unionists have been jailed, this is not just because he is the kind of "moderate" Anglo American can talk to, but also because he leads a powerful union with a combative membership.

The Ramaphosa leadership has sabotaged that power and militancy. This was sharply revealed in the aborted miners strike last August-September. Coming at a time of mass defiance against Botha's state of emergency and with the international capital flight from South Africa, a *nationwide* gold mine strike could have been a most powerful blow against the apartheid regime. Other unions including the strategic Metal Workers offered to strike in solidarity. The whole world was watching the gold fields. But what happened?

First the NUM dragged out negotiations, complying with every clause of apartheid legislation for a "legal" strike, while thousands of miners were besieged in their hostels and shipped off to the bantustans. Eventually, Ramaphosa signed an agreement with all the mining houses (including Anglo American) save one, and struck only seven mines at the beginning of September. This was presented as a smart move "splitting the bosses." Instead it was the union that was split. The cops and army prepared their forces as if for war, naturally concentrating on the few mines actually struck. The courageous miners who walked out were ruthlessly crushed almost as the strike began.

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Vengeance for MOVE Martyrs!

On December 5, seven months after Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode and the Philly cops burned alive eleven members of the black MOVE group and their children, Louise James, LaVerne Sims and their family buried John and Frank Africa. We have repeatedly denounced and exposed this racist mass murder, at a time when many were criminally silent or obscenely blamed the victims. The Osage Avenue massacre, carried out by a black Democratic mayor, is the symbol of the Reagan years. This bloody state terror of the American ruling class must never be forgotten. *Workers Vanguard* spoke with Louise James shortly after the funeral, and we print below her anguished cry for vengeance.

Now "Mayor of Murder" Wilson Goode and the City of Philadelphia are *suing* Louise James and Ramona Africa, one of the two survivors of Goode and Reagan's May 13 bombing of MOVE, for "some or all damages that the city may be ordered to pay" (*New York Times*, 29 November). While Ramona Africa remains in jail, while nine other MOVE members, many of whose children were murdered on Osage Avenue on May 13, are still behind bars for defending themselves from the cops' 1978 siege against MOVE, murderer Goode wants his victims to pay for his hideous crime! This is like sending the survivors of the Auschwitz Nazi death camp the gas bill! Free Ramona Africa and all

MOVE members!

Louise James: On Thursday afternoon, shortly after the noon hour, LaVerne and I actually looked at, for the first time, the bodies of the two people that we buried. We looked at a torso, our brother, the likes of which I've never seen before and I'll remember for as long as I live. Nothing but charred, burnt, black remains, and I literally mean remains. My son... charred and burned beyond recognition.... We had to look, and we had to see for ourselves what this city had done to our people. As God is my witness, I will not rest ever again until the murderers who did that to my people are put in jail for as long a term as I can get them.... I would have it that they would sit in an electric chair until they die.

And I am talking about every single cop who leveled more than 10,000 rounds of ammunition in that house; about Commissioner Sambor, who supervised that operation; about Leo Brooks, who oversaw as managing director; about Fire Commissioner Richmond who sat on this fence with Sambor and swung their legs while my people burned to death. Where he wouldn't order to put out a fire that he was looking at. I'm talking about Wilson Goode who watched on television! The mayor of a city watched on television! I'm talking about Frank Powell, who dropped that bomb.... God knows I want every one of them to pay, and they have got to pay.



Kalfus/NY Post

NYC Killer Cops, "Your Day Will Come!"

An outraged crowd gathered outside a Manhattan courthouse November 24, after an all-white jury let off six transit cops in the racist choke-hold/beatings death of Michael Stewart. In the wake of the whitewash verdict, the killer cops are gloating over their victory, while Democratic Party pols and hustlers have moved in to deflect the anger of the black masses into "safe" channels. At a November 26 meeting protesting the verdict, Brooklyn minister Herbert Daughtry's efforts to pacify the crowd were met by angry shouts. Ed Kartsen, Spartacist candidate for Manhattan borough president in the recent NYC elections, counterposed a program to fight cop terror to Daughtry and others

who tie blacks and labor to the capitalist parties. Kartsen summed up the lessons to be learned from the cop lynch mob murder of Michael Stewart: "It's obvious that Koch is a racist pig. The real obstacles are the people who say Koch is a racist but have nothing concrete to say about fighting cop terror. All these proposals for empty 'investigations' and impotent 'review boards' just open the way for more bloody lynchings. There is no justice in the capitalist courts. We need labor/black defense against racist terrorists. We demand vengeance for Michael Stewart! Break with the Democrats—Build a workers party! For black liberation through socialist revolution!" ■

The effect of this betrayal goes far beyond the mines. As the gold strike loomed, the ANC leadership had scheduled talks in Lusaka, Zambia with a delegation of South African magnates headed by Gavin Relly, Oppenheimer's successor as chairman of Anglo American. Had the NUM waged an all-out strike, this meeting, held in mid-September, would have blown up in the participants' faces. One labor expert hit the mark when he explained that Ramaphosa did not call out the whole union because "he did not want to ruin his relationship with Anglo American" (*New York Times*, 6 September).

The ANC has long looked to this pre-eminent representative of the "liberal" bourgeoisie to pressure the Pretoria regime. This is the suicidal strategy of the popular front. Anglo American, the biggest superexploiter of black migrant labor in South Africa, which installs secret gas vents in the mine compounds to deal with strikers, is as much an enemy of the black oppressed as the most *verkrampte* (reactionary) Afrikaner Nationalists. The aborted gold mine strike demonstrates graphically how trade-union economism and nationalism combine to derail class struggle against apartheid.

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

While Oliver Tambo and other ANC leaders are talking with Gavin Relly and his fellow "progressive" South African capitalists, they are also calling upon the black masses to "make the townships ungovernable." This is the policy of chaos. It can inconvenience the apartheid rulers for a time, but it will not overthrow them. Nor is it intended: the ANC is pursuing the utopian and reactionary goal of "power-sharing," seeking to pressure the bosses into letting a layer of petty-bourgeois black leaders share in the superexploitation of black labor. The very restless black masses in South Africa today are very far from having an instrument—a revolutionary workers party—for

Apartheid troops in "hippo" armored personnel carriers terrorize black Soweto. Liberal divestment schemes will not stay the bloody hand of Pretoria.



Der Spiegel

taking power.

Barayi put the authority of COSATU behind the campaign for divestment, another aspect of the policy of chaos, trying to "make the economy ungovernable" by appealing to the imperialist mass murderers of Hiroshima and Vietnam to put the squeeze on their South African allies, to get them to clean up their act. Barayi was faithful to the strategy that led to Sharpeville when he justified divestment saying, "Let us all suffer together; that will force the Government to abolish apartheid" (*Financial Times* [London], 2 December).

But the imperialists have already "disinvested" billions of dollars, pounds and deutschmarks from South Africa, and it has not stayed the hand of the murderous apartheid police state butchers one whit. For Botha knows that the Wall Street, London and Frankfurt bankers are waiting for the imposition of social peace, even if it is a "peace" of the graveyards, and the billions will flow back seeking superprofits, the golden spoils of apartheid slavery.

The policy of chaos dangerously underestimates the potential repressive power of the white rulers, who are now in considerable disarray and deeply politically divided. If South Africa's

rulers cannot govern the segregated black townships, they can still isolate and destroy them. A South African Hitler—and there are plenty of candidates for this role—could seal off the townships, blow up the sewer lines, demolish the hospitals, cut off electricity, food and water...and wait. After about 18 months the resulting hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of dead would secure "social peace" in South

Africa for a generation.

If the racist rulers in Pretoria have not yet moved toward such a Hitlerite "final solution," they are wantonly slaughtering black township dwellers. At a mass funeral in Mamelodi for the latest victims, anti-apartheid fighter Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned ANC leader, defied Botha's banning order and proclaimed: "This is our country. In the same way as you have had to bury our children today, so shall the blood of these heroes we buried today be avenged." Her courageous words speak for all supporters of social justice.

But how will the martyrs of apartheid terror be avenged? Certainly not by calls to make the townships ungovernable, and still less by talks with Oppenheimer/Relly & Co. and appeals to Wall Street to disinvest in South Africa. It is the powerful and combative black proletariat, under the leadership of a Bolshevik party, which will be the gravedigger of apartheid capitalism and the avenger of its crimes. On that grave will arise a black-centered workers government, the only road to the liberation of black Africa from the chains of neocolonial exploitation and imperialist domination. ■

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Bloody Communal Terror in Sri Lanka

The bloody suppression of the Tamil minority of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) by the racist mobs and troops of the right-wing government of J.R. Jayewardene feeds the spiraling horror of communalist slaughter on this Indian Ocean island. The victims are innocent civilians among both the mainly Hindu Tamils and the Buddhist Sinhalese majority. Trying to escape bloody government-instigated pogroms of July 1983, when hundreds of Tamils were burned or hacked to death, hundreds of thousands of Tamils fled to the Northern and Eastern provinces. The result was the de facto partition of the island. The government has accelerated this brutal forced population transfer by resettling Sinhalese colonists into formerly Tamil areas, notably around Trincomalee.

The strategic naval port of Trincomalee has emerged at the center of the bloody conflict between Tamils fighting for their liberation and their oppressors, the government of Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP). Recent reports in the Indian press describe air force bombing raids over Tamil areas of

British colonialists), with the Tamils in between, and the Sinhalese hardly represented at all. With independence in 1948, the Europeans were ousted. Within two years the Burghers were squeezed out. Then the policy of "Sinhala only" was introduced to go after the Ceylon Tamils (the Indian Tamils in the hill country plantations having no rights in any case). Now they're going after the Muslims, Christians and all other ethnically/religiously "impure," in the name of this petty-bourgeois socialism/nationalism.

The "socialism" of the populist SLFP was corruption and nepotism, assigning incompetent Bandaranaike nephews to collect the taxes and administer the tea estates. Even Jayewardene's right-wing UNP talks socialism, although his version is more Reaganite. Lately he has been trying to reverse "Sinhala only," since discovering that Sinhala is not a world language in which one can sign contracts for cheap textiles with Frankfurt bankers. He also feels the weight of tens of millions of Tamils across the straits in Tamil Nadu, and the knowledge that New Delhi could annex the island in a simple mopping-up operation. So J.R.'s murderous repression of the Tamil people in Lanka is combined with genuflection toward Rajiv Gandhi's India.

Communal Terror and "Negotiations"

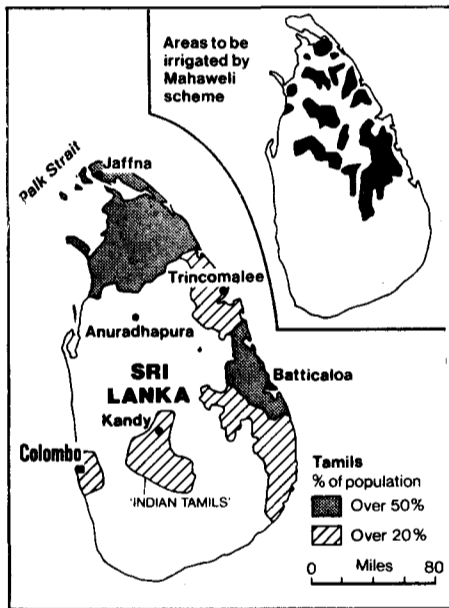
After the massacre by armed Tamils of some 150 Sinhalese civilians at the Buddhist holy city Anuradhapura in May, the Indian government exerted pressure to get negotiations between the Sri Lankan government and Tamil groups. While denying responsibility for this indefensible act of indiscriminate terrorism, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) justified it as a reprisal and a demonstration of the ability to strike in the Sinhala heartland. Immediately a mood of dismay and despair at the widening cost of the war did prevail in wide layers of the Sinhalese. This gave Jayewardene, always under pressure from Sinhala hardliners, the opportunity to accept negotiations. But in the longer run the massacre fueled Sinhala xenophobia, and crucially it gave Indian premier, Rajiv Gandhi, the pretext to crack down on the exile Tamil groups and compel them to attend negotiations in Thimpu, capital of the Himalayan principality of Bhutan.

The negotiations between the Jaye-

wardene regime and the Tamil organizations—which run the gamut from the bourgeois parliamentarist Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) to the People's Liberation Organisation of Thamil-eelam (PLOTE) and four other guerrilla groups based in southern India and grouped under the umbrella of the Eelam National Liberation Front (ENLF)—have so far produced only a fruitless cycle of negotiations, truces and renewed massacres. A flimsy "cessation of hostilities" was established on June 18. Throughout the first phase of the negotiations the Sri Lankan government stonewalled, offering nothing but the phony district council proposals

With National Security minister Lalith Athulathmudali talking of the need for a 100,000-man armed forces, the UNP government rammed legislation through parliament in one day on October 10 empowering the conscription of anyone over 18 years of age. This draconian act will also serve to legitimize the UNP goon squads/private armies that are in the forefront of the anti-Tamil communalist killings.

For many Tamils the "ceasefire" simply never existed. Only on the Jaffna Peninsula was it reasonably effective—because the army has been beaten back and forced to stay in its few large camps. Fresh atrocities in the Mannar district drove new waves of refugees to India. The mid-August army massacres sealed the fate of the Thimpu talks. Said one Tamil negotiator: "With two massacres in two days, if we resume the talks, our cadres will put a bullet in our



Trincomalee, helicopter strafing of nearby villages and temples, and naval gunboats strafing coastal villages (*The Hindu*, 13 November). Some 80,000 have fled their homes into squalid refugee camps.

The battle for Trincomalee is not just a matter of national justice vs. oppression. Sri Lanka is separated from India only by the 30-mile-wide Palk Strait. Possession of Trincomalee gave Britain the edge over its rivals in the conquest of India and thus Britain's leading imperial position in the 19th century. Now, U.S. imperialism wants Trincomalee as a key link in the military chain that runs from Simonstown, near Cape Town, South Africa through Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean to the CIA spy post in Alice Springs, Australia and the U.S. war bases in the Philippines. It's all part of imperialism's crusade against the Soviet Union and social revolution around the globe. In a display of military backing for Jayewardene, the U.S. aircraft carrier *Kitty Hawk* and three other ships scheduled a four-day visit to Colombo in November.

Since World War II, the "salami tactics" of Sinhalese nationalism have meant intensifying communal polarization in Ceylon. Under British colonialism, the civil service was run by the "Burghers" (descendants of intermarriages with Portuguese, Dutch and

Vehicles entering Colombo searched at police checkpoint.



earlier put forward as a sop at the Round Table Conference last year. Phase II of the talks lasted barely six days and was terminated on August 19 after the Sri Lankan army massacred hundreds of Tamil civilians in Vavuniya and Trincomalee. The only meaningful "ceasefire" proposal would be the immediate withdrawal of the army and police from Tamil areas, the release of all Tamil political prisoners and the repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Jayewardene's Military Buildup

Meanwhile Sri Lanka has been reorganizing, re-equipping and expanding its forces, purchasing fast patrol boats, attack helicopters and transport planes. Despite official denials, anyone riding a bus down Galle Road can see new counterinsurgency aircraft, Italian SIAI-Marchettis, training at the Ratmalana airport outside Colombo. Besides the Israeli advisers and "former" Special Air Service commandos from Britain, Rhodesian pilots and other mercenaries have been hired to handle the new equipment, for which South Africa is reportedly a prime source.

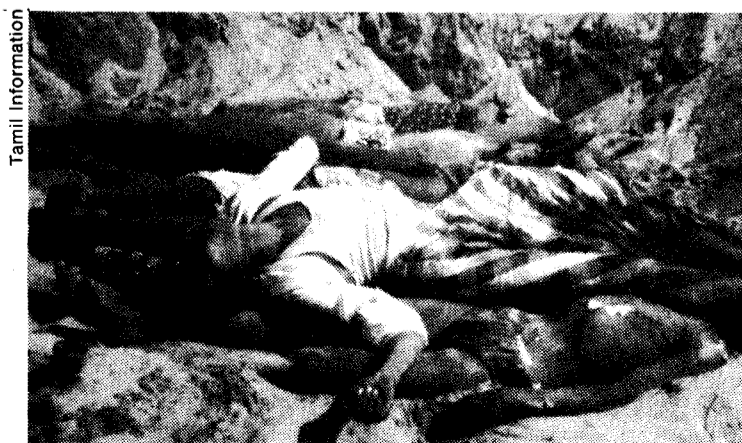
back" (*Frontline*, 7-20 September). The Tamil groups claimed that more than 800 Tamils were killed during the "ceasefire."

But it is around Trincomalee that the main battle has been taking place. "Home Guards," mobs of lumpen criminal elements armed by the government and led by UNP politicians, have rampaged through the town, looting, burning, killing with the tacit and often overt support of the police and armed forces. Even elements of the government now fear these private armies. Tens of thousands of Tamils have fled Trincomalee town, while in a reciprocal process Sinhalese villagers have been driven from areas controlled by the Tamil groups. The government controls the town, but guerrilla groups hold a wide belt to the north along the coast and an area on the south of Kottiyar Bay. Between the end of the Thimpu talks and the institution of a second ceasefire on October 10, several large-scale government operations were mounted, little more than reprisal raids in force, without fundamentally altering the military balance.

The Jayewardene regime has instituted a conscious policy of forced population transfers to drive the Tamils out of economically viable areas. A government plan envisages colonizing 200,000 Sinhalese settlers into areas brought under irrigation by the massive Mahaweli project, areas which were formerly mainly Tamil. Tamils, once a majority in Trincomalee district, have now been reduced to a minority by Sinhalese colonization combined with systematic state terror. Some 200,000 Tamils fled to the Northern and Eastern provinces after the July 1983 massacres, and another 150,000 fled abroad, mostly

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Tamil victims of state terror in Batticaloa.



U.S. Cold Warriors Fund Fascists

"AFL-CIA" and the French Connection

PARIS, December 9—Recently the cover was blown on the latest American program of Cold War "dirty tricks." Under the headline, "Reagan's Secret Funds in France," the Paris daily *Libération* (27 November) revealed that—in the last year alone—the United States government has funneled more than \$1.4 million to anti-Communist outfits in France (who also happen to be opponents of the Socialist Party government of President François Mitterrand). The French were dismayed: aren't we supposed to be allies? Washington was nonplused: it's all part of the anti-Soviet war drive.

Chauvinists in this most chauvinist of imperialist countries are incensed that France was included on a list of "non-democratic" countries including Chile, Paraguay, the Philippines and Poland; and that the French right wing turns out to be financed with American dollars. But the incident also starkly reveals that in the name of "fostering democracy,"



AP
Reagan-financed UNI thugs in anti-Soviet frenzy during Gorbachev's October visit to Paris.

Cold War II has brought back all the old crap from the days of the McCarthyite "War on Communism." Today it's the crusade against what Ronald Reagan calls the Soviet "evil empire."

In Cold War I, American imperialism's skulduggery went under the rubric of psychological and paramilitary operations. These "psy-ops" included routine bribery, sabotaging strikes, union-busting with gang violence, and much more. The euphemisms change—murder, formerly "termination with extreme prejudice," is now called "neutralization" in the lexicon of the CIA's Nicaraguan "contra" manual, *Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare*—but the reality is the same. And it's not restricted to far-off Third World countries, as the *Libération* revelations prove.

Having been burned by previous exposures of CIA spy operations, the Reaganites have turned to using overt/covert conduits. So just as the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries are now financed with "humanitarian aid," they have set up a "National Endowment for Democracy" (NED) to bankroll anti-Communists around the globe. Naturally, these are sensitive matters, and the revelation that right-wing opponents of the Socialist Party government of President François Mitterrand are on the take from Washington was a

bombshell in Paris.

The investigative reporters from *Libération* revealed that the American government foundation, created by Congress two years ago to "foster democracy around the world," had provided \$830,000 to the French social-democratic union Force Ouvrière (FO), and \$575,000 to a little known anti-Communist student federation, the National Interuniversity Union (UNI). UNI is an offshoot of the Civic Action Service (SAC), the Gaullist private army dissolved by the Mitterrand government in 1982. It also has links to Le Pen's fascist National Front.

Of course, this exposé is designed to help the besieged Mitterrand regime, in deep trouble following the "Greenpeace" affair in which French secret agents in New Zealand blew up a pacifist ship, killing one member of the group. FO was the leading opposition union as the government's economic program of "Keynesianism in one country" went down the tubes. And UNI was part of the mass marches for private schools that spearheaded right-wing mobilizations during 1983-84. By embarrassing Mitterrand's adversaries, *Libération* was obviously looking to do a favor for the government. At the same time they were doing a public service.

Created in 1983, the National Endowment for Democracy was granted \$18 million by Congress for 1984-85. Almost half of its European budget has been poured into France. Other recipients include the Portuguese UGT social-democratic splinter union, and the Basque ELSA-STV union. The London *Guardian* (9 December) reports that \$10,000 in NED funds went to Actors Equity; \$129,000 to *Soviet Labour Review*, put out by NTS, a notorious fascist/CIA publishing outlet; and \$49,000 to "Labour Committee for Transatlantic Understanding," the grouping of CIA Labourites around Denis Healey, Roy Hattersley, etc.

The head of the NED is one Carl Gershman, former vice chairman of Albert Shanker's Social Democrats, U.S.A. These CIA "socialists," who acted as red-hunting hatchet men in the AFL and CIO unions during the McCarthy period, today link the Reaganites with anti-Communist Polish Solidarność and West European right-wing social-democratic unions. The money is channeled through the AFL-

CIA "labor" operative and roving AFL-CIO anti-Communist union-buster Irving Brown addresses French union.



Libération

CIO's "Free Trade Union Institute," and brokered by none other than the sinister Irving Brown, described in Philip Agee's authoritative *CIA Diary* (1975) as the "principal CIA agent for control of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions."

UNI: the "Anti-May '68"

The National Interuniversity Union was formed by the Gaullist SAC in 1968 to combat "the Marxist offensive in the universities." UNI is affiliated to the World Anti-Communist League, that grisly cabal of fascist murderers, Asian tinpot dictators and Latin American death squads. During the 1983-84 demonstrations over private schools, they marched to the obscene racist chant of "Throw the Arabs into the Seine!" This October UNI campaigned against the visit of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, demonstrating with the National Front and "captive nation" exiles, pasting up more than a million "Gorbachev-Gulag" stickers.

The *modus operandi* of these ultrarightist shock troops was seen in a November 1984 incident at Nanterre, the campus where the '68 student revolt was born. Seventy UNI members led by helmeted, armed National Front thugs destroyed a poster display belonging to the Communist-led CGT union federation, beat up a leftist militant and scrawled racist graffiti on the walls. At Nanterre, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), known for the principled position of "no platform for the fascists," have been in the forefront of the fight against the UNI. In October the LTF issued a leaflet calling for mass action to stop these thugs from imposing a reign of racist terror; the UNI responded with an anti-communist hate sheet in the purest Black Hundred tradition.

On December 4, at a forum at Nanterre on "DemocraCIA and Fa\$cism," LTF spokesman William Cazenave

explained how the FO union and UNI protofascists got together at the Yankee dollars trough: "What ties it all together is, 1) anti-Communism, and 2) Solidarność." For in France, support for the Polish "union" favored by Reagan, the pope, Frankfurt and Wall Street bankers, fascists, Mitterrand Socialists and social democrats alike has been the linchpin for the formation of a "union sacrée" (holy alliance) around the anti-Soviet war drive.

The same day as the LTF forum, Mitterrand met in Paris with General Jaruzelski while anti-Communists—from the "socialist" CFDT and "social-democratic" FO union federations to pseudo-Trotskyists like LCR honcho Alain Krivine—joined with representatives of Solidarność in exile demonstrating against the Polish leader. When they accidentally crossed paths with a march by the CP-led CGT labor federation, this anti-Communist cabal began chanting "CGT-KGB" and "Communists—assassins." Joining them was the actor Yves Montand, a former Stalinist fellow traveler who has gone over to support for the murderous Nicaraguan contras.

FO: Four Decades on the CIA Payroll

Stung by the scandal that they were funding a notorious fascist-linked group in France, the National Endowment for Democracy "suspended" funds to UNI. But links to fascists, such as protection and later CIA importation of Nazi butchers like Klaus Barbie, has been the stock-in-trade of anti-Soviet Cold Warriors since the beginning. No one knows this better than Irving Brown, the "foreign minister" of the American labor bureaucracy who runs the federation's overseas operations in 83 countries. The AFL-CIO's international budget is \$43 million, almost as much as their entire \$45 million domestic

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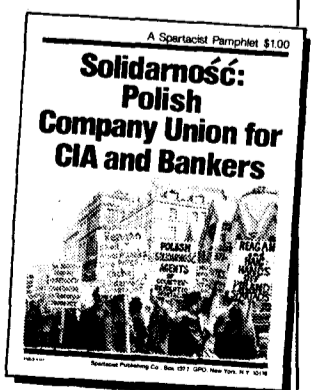
SL protests opening of New York office for counter-revolutionary Solidarność "union" at Albert Shanker's UFT headquarters, September 1981.



WV Photo

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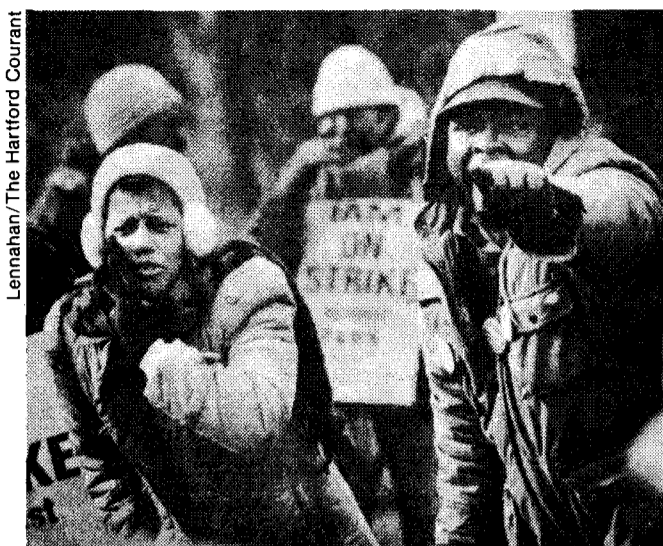
Victory to Pratt & Whitney Strike!

EAST HARTFORD, Connecticut, December 9—Six hundred workers from three striking Pratt & Whitney plants, joined by representatives of other local unions, picketed the giant military and commercial aviation company's large plant here today. Pickets from the North Haven, Middletown and Southington plants, comprising 5,000 strikers, hit the bricks a week ago.

Pratt & Whitney (P&W), a subsidiary of United Technologies, already runs non-union plants in Maine and Georgia and is out to gut the International Association of Machinists (IAM). Over 8,500 jobs at P&W have been slashed in the last five years. At East Hartford, management installed watchtowers with one-way glass around the perimeter of the plant and began hiring strikebreakers. This key plant, with 7,700 hourly workers (only 4,500 of whom are in the union) must be *shut down tight* for the strike to win.

But the "business as usual" unionism

Pickets jeer scabs at struck Pratt & Whitney plant in Middletown, Conn.



Lennahan/The Hartford Courant

of the IAM tops has got the strikers in a jam. Workers at all four plants rejected P&W's insulting "final" offer—which included benefit takeaways and a two-year wage freeze—and voted to strike.

But the tally at East Hartford fell just short of the IAM's undemocratic constitutional requirement of a two-thirds majority, after non-members were allowed to attend pre-strike meet-

ings, "join" the union, and vote against a strike! Workers leaving the plant to cast their ballots were met by a Santa Claus promising a \$300 Christmas bonus if they stayed on the job.

Despite promises of a "wall of pickets" here today, IAM officials parted the pickets (spread out over seven gates) every time a scab drove into the plant. After deciding Friday to give most hourly workers today off, P&W has vowed to operate the plant on all shifts for the remainder of the week. District 91 officials are scheduling only "spot" picketing. Picket lines mean don't cross! Remember how PATCO's throat was cut when IAM president William Winpisinger refused to shut down the airports and sent Machinists across those picket lines.

All of labor has a stake in the victory of the P&W strikers. Up against one of the Pentagon's largest suppliers, with Reagan hell-bent on his "Star Wars" crusade against the Soviet Union, the IAM strikers need class-struggle solidarity *in action*. Mobilize labor throughout the Northeast to build mass picket lines to stop the scabs! Victory to the Pratt & Whitney strike! ■

"AFL-CIA" ...

(continued from page 7)

expenses. And the tab for these operations does not come from union dues—it's paid for almost exclusively by the United States government.

Brown told *Libération* of his ties to Force Ouvrière head André Bergeron going back to 1947 when these Cold War operatives engineered the FO split in an attempt to break the power of the CGT. This CIA operation involved the use of Mafia thugs and mass firings of militant unionists. A *L'Humanité* (17 January 1981) article pointed out how Brown, in cahoots with Bergeron and the "socialist" Gaston Deferre, broke the 1950 dock workers strike in Marseille, firing 900 Communist dock workers who had struck (finally) against war materiel being sent for the French colonial war in Indochina.

Asked by *Libération* why the Reaganites would finance FO, Brown replied, "Because the CGT apparatus is still there and it can destroy France." In fact, the Stalinist misleaders of the CGT were part of and supported the Mitterrand popular front government, including by sabotaging strikes (e.g., the Talbot auto workers). They reluctantly left their ministerial seats only when they risked revolt by their working-class base fed up with the government's anti-labor austerity policies.

As for underwriting UNI, Brown aggressively responded, "Why not? UNI is a democratic union.... There's all

sorts in UNI, but in American unions you have the Mafia (laughs)... The democratic forces which fight against... Gorbachev and the Gulag must be supported." Left-wing unions, he said coyly, have "other support." The "difference between democracy and dictatorship," Brown added, "is that we do things openly, while no one can prove where the money of the CGT comes from."

Libération replied, "Not that open, since in a confidential note addressed to the chairman of the Endowment, it's

Cold War.

The pseudo-Trotskyist PCI of Pierre Lambert has been silent on the Reagan dollars. This is not so strange when you consider that, as recently as 1980, several dozen of their members were paid FO functionaries—including Lambert himself—and the number has undoubtedly increased since then. For the last 15 years at least, the Lambertists have regularly voted for Bergeron's report at FO conventions—giving political support for this CIA tool. In 1983-84, the PCI pulled all their supporters

nist unions in Chile, which paved the way for the bloody 1973 Pinochet coup, and demanded that the CWA break all ties with this Trojan Horse of imperialist penetration. In France, the LTF denounced CIA funding of Mitterrand's cohorts in the Portuguese Socialist Party, which ten years ago acted as the spearhead of reaction against the "revolution of the carnations."

The iSt took the lead in denouncing the millions of CIA dollars sent to finance Polish Solidarność via the AFL-CIO and various West European social-democratic unions (as well as the Vatican bank). When this Polish yellow "union" came out for "free trade unions" and "free enterprise" in East Europe (also calling for the Polish economy to be controlled by the IMF bankers' cartel!), the SL/U.S. demonstrated outside a Solidarność press conference at the offices of Albert Shanker's teachers union, demanding "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" More recently, as Irving Brown has been working overtime to "capture" the emerging black trade unions in South Africa, we have warned that his "aid" is the kiss of death to independent workers struggle.

From Chile to El Salvador, from Poland to France, the labor lieutenants of international capitalism do their best to subvert class-struggle unionism. As usual, the social democrats are in the "ideological" front lines of the anti-Soviet Cold War drive (now joined by their *anti-Trotskyist* camp followers). The Stalinists want to wish it away with their "détente" pipe dreams. The fight against the Irving Browns thus falls to the authentic Trotskyists, who uniquely stand for the political independence of the working class and have fought the anti-Soviet war drive down the line. ■

Reagan and Mitterrand. U.S. imperialism and social democrats in Cold War alliance against Soviet Union.



Gamma

stated that the finances in France must remain secret...." Brown blew up, demanding to know how they got the letter, then abruptly cut off the interview, threatening: "What's your job, journalist or cop?... If *Libération* publishes this story, the paper will be definitely [black]listed."

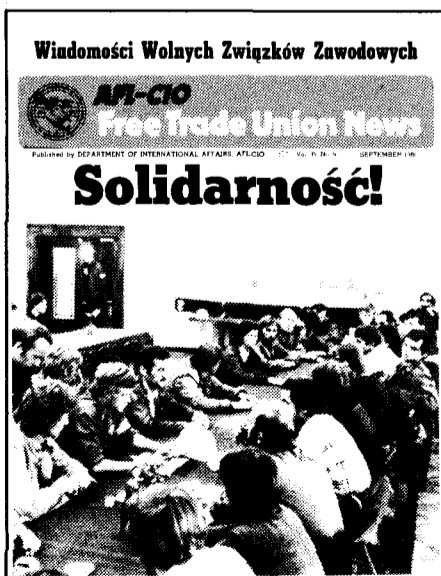
Class-Struggle Unionism vs. Cold War Labor Fakers

While the revelations about American dollars financing the French right-wing opposition caused quite a commotion, it seems that not everybody on the left is opposed to such "democraCIA." The CGT and CP, no doubt fearing someone would accuse *them* of receiving money from Moscow, declared that the exposé was an "attempt to destabilize fighting unionism" (*Libération*, 28 November)! The Socialists and various "far left" groups are protesting the CIA money in France, but *only* in France. They object to having been put on the same list as "undemocratic" countries like Poland. They *can't* fight the NED/CIA "psy-ops," because they're *for* dollars going to Polish Solidarność. They have lined up with their own bourgeoisie—and with Reagan—in this crucial battlefield of the anti-Soviet

out of the teachers union—until then one of the only French unions which had not succumbed to a Cold War split—and took them into Force Ouvrière, putting the finishing touches on Irving Brown's wrecking job.

Lutte Ouvrière, another fake-Trotskyist outfit, actually came out and defended FO's American "subsidy": "What's being paid off is the 10 percent of anti-communism that there is in FO.... It's not even sure that this foundation wants something from FO in exchange for its subsidy" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 30 November). Even the backward workers appealed to by LO know better than that: "you don't get something for nothing," "whoever pays the piper calls the tune," etc. Thus these workerists excuse the integration and subordination of the unions to the imperialist state.

The international Spartacist tendency, in contrast, has consistently opposed the sinister machinations of the "AFL-CIA." In the U.S., the Spartacist League and its union supporters have fought for two decades against CIA "labor" fronts like the American Institute for Free Labor Development. The Militant Action Caucus in the telephone workers union (CWA) exposed the AIFLD's attempts to smash Commu-



Special Polish "rollback" edition of Irving Brown's *Free Trade Union News*.

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Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 6)

to Tamil Nadu in south India.

This massive displacement of the Tamil population from the South posed a dramatically changed reality. As we wrote (*WV* No. 381, 14 June):

"The international Spartacist tendency has consistently upheld the Tamils' right of national self-determination... Before July 1983, however, we argued against the exercise of that right, in favor of united working-class struggle to redress Tamil oppression in the context of the struggle for socialist revolution within the existing unitary island state. But with the events of July 1983 the historic social balance shifted...."

"The massive murderous repression of the Jaffna Tamil people and the escalating outbursts of government-instigated violence against the Tamils... has brought to the forefront the struggle for Eelam. Therefore our socialist perspective of a struggle for a Ceylon workers state is expressed now in the slogan of federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka. At the same time we recognize—as the Tamil nationalists, who place their hopes on pressure or intervention from capitalist India, do not—that the only real hope for the Tamil minority to wrest anything from the Lankan regime proceeds through the spreading to the south of resistance to the rapacious government...."

No Faith in Capitalist India!

In recent months the Tamil liberation fighters have received a sharp lesson in the real content of the Indian government's "friendship" with the cause of Tamil Eelam. The Rajiv Gandhi government cracked down on the activities of the armed struggle groups in India, forcing them to close their camps. They then were frogmarched to the Thimpu talks, where ENLF delegates were prevented from meeting outsiders or making phone calls. India declared that a settlement would be based on "the framework of a united Sri Lanka." Angered at the effrontery of the Tamils in walking out at Thimpu and at their not responding sufficiently dutifully to Rajiv's beck and call, the Indian government unceremoniously deported three top Tamil leaders on August 23.

But the Gandhi regime miscalculated the depth of popular support for the Tamil cause in Tamil Nadu. With opposition politicians eager to seize the opportunity, within 48 hours there were massive demonstrations and work stoppages. Demonstrators carried placards saying "Down with Rajiv Gandhi!" Gandhi's ally, the Tamil Nadu chief minister M.G. Ramachandran, was compelled to call a one day holiday/fast to control the upsurge. Quickly two of the deportations were rescinded.

Ever since Indira Gandhi was assassinated by avenging Sikhs, there has been speculation of a rapprochement between India and U.S. imperialism, and indeed that a pro-imperialist negotiated settlement of the war in Lanka might be the first act of this reconciliation. The Nehru/Gandhi dynasty's "anti-imperialist" credentials have rested on India's diplomatic alliance with the Soviet Union and its anti-American posture. Now with Rajiv playing footsie with U.S. imperialism and pushing capitalist modernization, many Indian leftists and Tamil militants are speculating that India has "gone over to imperialism." Of course the Indian capitalist class has always been wedded to the world imperialist system, but the possibility of new alignments has set the subcontinent vibrating. Rajiv's modernization drive is bound to stimulate the centrifugal forces that always threaten the fragile unity of India.

The fact that the Indian government's reputation is now linked to a negotiated settlement in Sri Lanka poses new threats to the cause of liberation of the Tamils. Immediately the Indian government demanded further concessions by the Sri Lankan government. A new proposal by the J.R. regime allows for provincial councils with perhaps some

powers over the crucial areas of land and police. The Northern and Eastern provinces are to be treated as entirely separate units. This is a long way from recognizing the right of Tamil self-determination and their legitimate right of Tamil Eelam. As long as the army, with its notoriously ill-disciplined and communally motivated ranks, occupies the Tamil areas and the "Home Guards" are not disbanded no ceasefire is likely to hold.

While many Tamil militants have been dismayed, angered and disillusioned by India's role, their leaders continue to curry favor with the Indian ruling class. The bourgeois parliamentarist TULF together with the PLOTE group have continued to cooperate closely with the Rajiv Gandhi government and watched smugly as the Indian authorities cracked down on the other groups. PLOTE has been rewarded for its subservience by being the only group allowed to freely maintain its camps in India. One of the deportees, S.C. Chandrasaran, oiled the way for his return with appropriate genuflections: "We will support all efforts by Rajiv Gandhi to settle the ethnic problem. India is our only hope." The ENLF as a whole called Rajiv "a well-wisher."

But the Indian bourgeoisie, both in New Delhi and its Tamil regional counterpart in Madras, are the enemies of liberation. The treatment of India's own national and ethnic minorities, exemplified by the brutal massacre of the Sikhs, bodes ill for those who place their confidence in Gandhi's concern for the rights of the oppressed Tamils of Lanka. With good cause, J.R.'s war minister Athulathmudali says, "As far as India is concerned, there is a lot of faith and trust now" (*India Today*, 30 September).

There is growing fragmentation, disorientation and despair among the Tamil militants. The TULF and PLOTE have happily gone along with the negotiating process. Within PLOTE internal dissidence has been ruthlessly



Lanka Spartacist
Hundreds of Tamils were hacked or burned to death in July 1983 pogroms.

squashed, with kidnappings and murders. In the ENLF, the so-called "Marxist-Leninists" of EROS and the EPRLF have been more willing to toe the line of Gandhi's negotiations. Combativity among the guerrillas has been directed into more communalist killings and internecine fighting. On September 3 elements in or around the ENLF murdered two TULF, ex-members of parliament, one a supposed leftist, official of the Lanka-Soviet friendship society and father of a PLOTE leader.

In the camps in Tamil Nadu, money is extorted from refugees by some groups, while others have got themselves tangled in drug trafficking. Recently 30 armed youth looted the most famous Hindu temple in Jaffna. From protesting against the negotiations and for the release of political prisoners, Jaffna demonstrators now demand the return of goods looted from their temple, even



Reuters
Rajiv Gandhi with Sri Lankan war minister Athulathmudali.

asking the hated police to help. The Jayewardene regime will and no doubt is seeking to exploit these sordid, degenerative aspects of the situation, which carry the seeds of vicious caste conflict. And with the negotiations, the outline of a traitorous sellout deal can be seen, with the TULF/PLOTE policing Jaffna, while India seals its coast and the army goes after the ENLF and Tamils in the Vanni and the Eastern Province.

Murderous Logic of Nationalism

In the last year Tamil nationalist forces have undertaken an ominous shift in tactics. Whereas previously they prided themselves in scrupulously avoiding Sinhalese civilian targets and struck only at the occupying military and police forces, there are now repeated incidents of senseless massacre of innocent Sinhalese villagers, fishermen, women and children. The petty-bourgeois nationalist Tamil organizations have come to mirror the worst Sinhala chauvinism of the traditional Ceylonese left parties with their own murderous logic of racialism and nationalist communalism. Marxist revolutionists, who base themselves on the morality of internationalist class struggle, abhor racialism in all its forms, and find deeply repugnant the terror methods of gangsterism employed by those who fight in the name of social justice.

The increasing indiscriminate communalist response among the Tamil fighters fuels Sinhala chauvinism. Jayewardene's own dictatorial appetites are nurtured by mounting communalist hysteria among the Sinhalese. And his principal opposition within the Lankan bourgeoisie, Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), has formed a "National Front" with the powerful Buddhist religious hierarchy and the petty-bourgeois communalist MEP. The UNP narrowly won a recent by-election where the SLFP campaigned over the "plight" of [Sinhalese] refugees and "A vote for the UNP is a vote for concessions to the Tamils."

Of course, for the SLFP this appeal to Sinhala chauvinism comes naturally; the party first reached prominence with the racist "Sinhala Only" campaign which denied language rights to the Tamils in the mid-'50s. This did not, however, deter the reformist Communist Party and Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP—often falsely described as "Trotskyist") from joining the SLFP in a popular front government, and hailing Mrs. B's bloody massacre of the 1971 uprising of Sinhala youth led by the JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna—People's Liberation Front).

The JVP, for its part, has moved from its earlier eclectic leftism to virulent Sinhala chauvinism. One Prins Gunasekera, known as a front man for the JVP, has joined the National Front. The government's continuing ban on the JVP reflects above all its fear of popular unrest. Recently, they have begun arresting Sinhalese supporters of a dissident JVP group claimed to be cooperating with the Tamil fighters.

The "New" Samasamaja Party (NSSP), a warmed-over "left" version of the LSSP with ties to the misnamed Militant tendency in the British Labour Party, meanwhile denounces the JVP

for "ultra-leftism" (!) and tries to obscure the chauvinist character of the National Front, describing it only as a "front among a section of the SLFP, Sinhala petty bourgeois radicals and the pro-JVP elements," no doubt hoping to leave an opening through which to crawl into the popular front of Sinhala racialism.

Class Struggle vs. Communalist Slaughter

The communalist frenzy is not the only pressure on the bonapartist Lankan government. With tea prices now joining the slump in tourism, textile exports and migrant worker remittances, the economy teeters downward. Recent new government austerity measures include plans to close down all unprofitable (i.e., most) nationalized corporations. To pay for the ballooning military budget, which has increased tenfold in eight years, the UNP regime is further squeezing the masses with increased taxes on liquor, cigarettes, train fares, and postal and telephone services.

But the Lankan working class, Sinhala and Tamil alike, have shown a willingness to resist. The largely female Sinhala workforce of the textile plants around Colombo have defended themselves with a wave of militant strikes over the last year. And the hideously oppressed Tamil plantation workers of the upland tea estates, denied even the limited citizenship rights of the Jaffna Tamils, have fought the regime. On November 7, some 25,000 plantation workers struck to protest the arrest of four students by the police. The crucial demand for full citizenship rights for the plantation Tamils has long been overlooked by the nationalist Tamil groups.

At bottom, the Sinhala communalism which the government itself instigates and seeks only to control is intended to prevent a popular revolutionary upsurge and the class unity of Sinhala and Tamil. Class struggle can halt the reactionary spiral of racialist slaughter. But that requires a revolutionary party armed with the program of Lenin and Trotsky, with the strategy of permanent revolution to overthrow capitalism. Our comrades of the Spartacist League/Lanka have earned a reputation as the only consistent defenders of Tamil national rights among the Sinhalese; they have won recognition as well for their militant support for the struggles of Sinhalese women textile strikers. The SL/L was born out of the only wing of the Ceylonese left which courageously stood up against the popular front betrayals that prepared the way for Jayewardene's dictatorial regime.

The traditional leftist parties have bequeathed an ugly legacy of class collaboration and Sinhalese chauvinism; as partners in Mrs. B's popular front government their hands were bloodied with the violent suppression of the 1971 youth uprising. The petty-bourgeois Tamil nationalists, indifferent to the plight of the plantation Tamils and scornful of the prospects of joint struggle with Sinhalese workers, pander to the Indian bourgeoisie. And the murderous cycle of communalist terror continues to deepen.

The only just solution demands the forging of a Leninist vanguard which can unite Tamil estate workers, Sinhalese textile workers, Jaffna students and Muslim villagers—all the diverse layers oppressed by capitalism—into a common revolutionary movement based on the methods of class struggle and the power of the strategic proletarian sectors. Such a Leninist vanguard must be based on a perspective of *proletarian internationalism*. The fate of the Lanka masses is inextricably linked to that of the mighty Indian proletariat. Only socialist revolution throughout the subcontinent can hold forth promise for the future; only international revolution can forever end the rule of capital that breeds the bloody horror of communalism. ■

Highland Hospital...

(continued from page 3)

drug-stupefied patients plead for their freedom before inquisitors in white suits; psychiatric patients have been released wearing only pajamas or a sheet.

Women have been sterilized without their consent, or after signing a form in a language they didn't understand. While 43 percent of all babies delivered at Highland are born to women who do not speak English, interpreters are unavailable at night or on weekends in the maternity wards. Pregnant women requiring anesthesia for childbirth are dragged from the ninth floor to the basement during delivery. One obstetrician, Dr. Lisa Keller, told of delivering twins—one of them in a dangerous breech position—in the elevator and the hallway during transfer. For breaking the code of silence, Keller was sacked.

Highland Hospital resembles nothing so much as the Alameda County jails, where pregnant women, overwhelmingly prostitutes or drug addicts, victims of this society, have been forced to withdraw from drugs "cold turkey," suffering horrible convulsions and miscarriages. One aborting woman was brought to an emergency room in handcuffs and leg irons. In another recent case, authorities at the Santa Rita Jail held a woman for three days after a miscarriage before allowing her to go to a hospital to have the fetus removed.

While exposures of atrocities at Highland have brought scandal after scandal, all the politicians give a damn about is who gets to the trough first to "administer" the additional funds they hope to squeeze out of the outcry. Take infant mortality: 80 percent of the babies delivered at Highland are born with complications, chiefly low birth weight. The county Board of Supervisors has requested a \$350,000 federal grant to study the causes: for these cynical politicians, starving black and Hispanic babies are just another pork barrel. The cause is obvious: poverty and oppression leading to malnutrition of the mothers. As Ed Church of the East Bay Perinatal Council put it, "If you generated 10,000 jobs in Oakland, I guarantee you the infant mortality rate would drop" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 9 August).

Death by Dumping

Sharon Ford was "dumped." Dumping is what happens to you these days if you go to a private hospital and you can't pay; even if you have a life-threatening condition, they pack you off to the charity wards and poor house county hospital. There has been a nationwide epidemic of dumping as a direct result of Reagan's "cost-cutting" slashes in Medicaid and Medicare programs. And now the administration is pushing a bill to eliminate the token requirement that hospitals which have received federal building funds provide a "reasonable" amount (i.e., any) free or low-cost care to the poor.

Dumping is nothing new, but the number of "indigent" patients transferred has increased five to ten times in

the past two years for many of the largest public hospitals, said Jerri Dallek, an attorney with the National Health Law Program in Los Angeles. "People are arriving at the public hospitals after being kicked out of private hospitals comatose, with heart wounds, covered with burns—just incredible stuff" (*Oakland Tribune*, 10 November). And the victims are overwhelmingly from minorities: a May 1984 study found that 58 percent of patients whose lives were endangered by transfers were non-whites.

The situation is particularly acute in California due to recent changes in the MediCal program. In 1982 the state handed over to the counties responsibility for the 15 to 20 percent of the population with no medical insurance. An article by Peter Aleshire in the *Oakland Tribune* (17 November) noted that "two facts are now clear about the consequences" of this move: "First: The move saved the state about \$100 million per year. Second: Many of the working poor and unemployed have paid with their lives for the reform."

The horror stories abound. In February of this year a 32-year-old black man, Eugene Barnes, was killed by the refusal of a number of Bay Area hospitals to treat him for a knife wound in the head (see "Medical 'Care,' U.S.A.," *WV* No. 374, 8 March). In April, Maria Ceja, a 42-year-old Hispanic mother of three, died because no hospital in Alameda County provides open-heart surgery for MediCal patients. American capitalism has created a system of "economic triage" in which the rich go to private hospitals, and poor blacks and Hispanics suffer "death by dumping."

Bay Area workers, minorities must mobilize to protest the racist murder going on at Highland Hospital, demanding a massive increase in medical funding. At an October 1 Alameda County Board of Supervisors meeting, Hursey Baker, a spokesman for the Labor Black League for Social Defense, testified:

"As a modest proposal, I would put forth a recommendation that people be bused to Walnut Creek until this hospital is made a safe place for black people and working people to receive decent health care."

Walnut Creek is a mostly white suburb with a well-equipped, well-staffed hospital.

As Reagan (with bipartisan Congressional support) drives up the military budget for war against the Soviet Union, the budget ax of his killer cuts comes down on the necks of the minorities, the aged and infirm, the poor and working people. And while Reagan proposes, Democrats in city halls around the country dispose of the victims. In countries like the Soviet Union and Cuba, a planned economy provides free medical care for all. But in the United States it's cash on the barrelhead. The affluent get taken care of, and the rest can take their chances.

The "magic of the marketplace" means that black infant mortality is twice that of whites; in the desperately impoverished black ghettos, the rate of death for babies under one year is higher than in Cuba. Among adults nearly 60,000 black Americans die each year because of higher rates of disease and death for minorities in this racist

country. It will take a socialist revolution to give all children the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. ■

S.F. General...

(continued from page 3)

- Another ten-year black worker in housekeeping, told by his supervisor that "you and your people just can't do the work around here," became so upset he suffered a high blood pressure attack. Rushed to Mission Emergency Hospital, he was told his problem was "psychological."

- While black workers make up 48 percent of Hospital Workers Local 250 members at SF General, they have been hit with 68 percent of the disciplinary orders in the last six months. Union business agents have been hauled off the premises by hospital police.

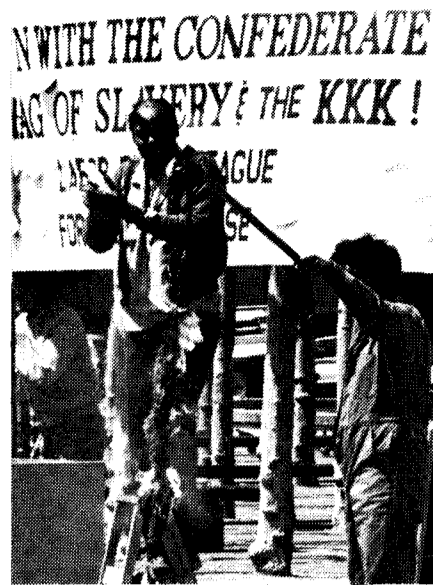
Stop Union-Busting at SF General!

Jeff Higgins, a member of IBEW Local 6, was harassed for daring to use the same toilet as the white skilled tradesmen at the hospital. A racist carpenter told Higgins the bathroom was for "carpenters only" (while admitting publicly that he had let other tradesmen use the toilet). The racist tried to lock Higgins in the bathroom when he used it. Following the October 22 Health Commission hearing, where Higgins' testimony drew a powerful response from black workers in the audience, the administration ruled that the toilet must be kept open. But on November 12 the administration came up with its "solution": a Jim Crow toilet for the "electricians"—i.e., the black one. Meanwhile Higgins, San Francisco General's only black electrician and one of only two black tradesmen, has been singled out for discipline for standing up for the rights of the black workers.

"My story is not unique, but sadly typical for black and minority workers here," Higgins told the December 4 rally. "And it is typical because the administration has a deliberate policy of using racism, speed-ups and disciplines to drive black workers and union members out of the hospital, out of this city. The racist Democratic Party Feinstein administration hates blacks, hates unions, and wants to make San Francisco one big open-shop town.... [The Democrats] are the ones who went after the unions in 1976. It was during their administration that we got Operation Zebra."

Mayor Dianne Feinstein, then a city Supervisor, won her spurs as a strike-breaker during the 1976 strike by municipal craft workers. The 1974 Operation Zebra, a racist police "stop and search" sweep, targeted blacks throughout the city. It was "Dixie Dianne" who ordered the Confederate flag flown in the city's Civic Center, and twice had it put back up last year after the Labor Black League and Spartacist League tore it down. After Ritchie Bradley tore it down, Jeff Higgins burned that banner of slavery and race-terror, and finally it stayed down for good. Last August, when the Labor Black League organized a demonstration to stop the hanging of South African anti-apartheid fighter Benjamin Moloise, the SF cops showed up with a police van prominently displaying a Nazi swastika. Once again the Spartacist League vigorously exposed this provocation.

But the wave of racist atrocities continues. Recently a young black man, Timothy Lee, was lynched in Concord. The police lied, claiming it was "suicide" when the talented 23-year-old design student was found strung up by a strap in the overwhelmingly white, Klan-infested suburb on November 2. Denouncing the futility of seeking state and FBI "investigations," SL spokesman Martha Phillips proclaimed, "What's needed is integrated workers defense



April 1984: Jeff Higgins (left) burns Confederate flag of slavery, in action called by SL/SYL and Labor Black League.

guards to go out into Concord and clean out those race-terrorists!"

The Labor Black League for Social Defense was formed in the aftermath of the successful Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that brought out 5,000 mainly black unionists and youth and stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. The LBL calls for mobilizing the masses of black and working people for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression in capitalist America.

The Feinstein administration is making the hospital the cutting edge of a drive to make the racially and ethnically diverse city a white-only yuppie paradise. The Democrats are the enforcers for Reagan's budget cuts slashing medical and social services, which have hit hard at public hospitals like SF General, the scene of a scandal over deficient medical care in 1984. "They have to rob the money... out of the pockets of black people and working people to pay for their insane war drive against the Soviet Union," said Phillips.

Older employees remember when the cafeteria at San Francisco General Hospital had segregated eating areas. But black workers have made it clear that they will not go back to Jim Crow! The Spartacist League and Labor Black Leagues have a class-struggle answer to the racist status quo. As Phillips told the demonstrators:

"We need a new party in this country, not Dixiecrats and Republicans, we need a workers party. A workers party with a clear program to get rid of the racist corrupt capitalist politicians and to establish a workers government. Now that's not going to come through the voting booth. It's going to come on the picket line, in the work place and in hard political battles. We say that the Spartacist League is the nucleus of that party. We say let's finish the fight that John Brown started in 1859. Let's win black freedom, and that means: Forward to the third American Revolution!" ■

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Reagan's Terrorists...

(continued from page 1)

massacre. The C-130 transport planes carrying the Egyptian commandos were escorted to Malta by three jets from the U.S. aircraft carrier *Coral Sea* in the Mediterranean. Mubarak originally requested assistance from the American "Delta Force" counterterrorist unit. They were on the way, but there's every reason to believe that—if they had arrived in time—this bumbling killer elite would have done as bad or even worse than the (U.S.-trained) Egyptians. During the Teheran hostage crisis their signal contribution was to abandon American helicopters in the Iranian desert.

Now Washington is talking about stationing such "special forces" in Europe, so the U.S. can be on the scene the firstest with the mostest and really get into playing global gendarme. The Army's Delta Force, Navy SEALs, Green Berets and Rangers are the same outfits that spearheaded the U.S. invasion of the tiny black Caribbean island of Grenada. And it's already officially confirmed (*New York Times*, 4 November) that the CIA has similar plans for dealing with Libyan dictator Qaddafi. The U.S. openly underwrites coup attempts, bomb attacks and military aggression from Egypt with impunity. Yet for all of Qaddafi's megalomaniacal posturing and his undoubted hand in Near East hijackings and assassinations, if he even tried to pull off a terrorist stunt against the White House like Reagan and Shultz order every week now, the U.S. really would "begin bombing in five minutes"—no joke.

American industry is otherwise going down the tubes, but the U.S. is certainly still "Number One" in the export of international terrorism. Vengeful losers of the "Rambo" stripe, Reagan and his coterie of Dr. Strangeloves embody the death agony of the imperialist order. To their "allies" and vassals, Washington has delivered the following *diktat*: act as the kill-crazy, anti-Soviet sociopaths we are, or die. Take Mubarak's regime—a repulsive bonapartist state which ruthlessly shoots down unarmed student



Abbas/Gamma

Delta Force in action: wreckage of bungled American "rescue" mission lies in Iranian desert.

demonstrators and housewives protesting the price of bread. But this regime does not go around looking to provoke bloody massacres, so its handling of the *Achille Lauro* affair was pretty straightforward. And except for Leon Klinghoffer, the lives of scores of crew members and passengers were saved.

Washington was furious. Cairo had not responded in a sufficiently blood-thirsty fashion. The U.S. wanted blood for the billions it has been pouring into the Egyptian military. So it leaned on Mubarak and it got blood. The hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* and Egyptair Flight 648 were acts of indiscriminate and indefensible terrorism—anathema



Imperialist "Rambo"-mania.

to socialist revolutionists. But these desperately suicidal missions are the weapons of the weak in the face of daily state-sponsored terror and massacres by the United States and its allies in the region (e.g., the Israeli bombing of PLO headquarters in Tunisia). The U.S. imperialists and their Zionist partners have not just a few automatic weapons and hand grenades at their disposal, but a mammoth arsenal—including nuclear weapons—of state power.

Summa Contra Reagan

Reagan's "antiterrorism" is nothing but deadly state terrorism. Indeed, funding counterrevolutionary terrorists around the world is a key element of U.S. foreign policy, aimed at slamming the Russians up against the wall. The November summit with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was a cynical ploy, playing on the Kremlin's "détente" delusions and convincing lily-livered liberals that Reagan can talk "peace," in order to get more money for his dirty wars. And it works—Congressional "doves" voted for first-strike MX missiles on the grounds that they were just a "bargaining chip" for disarmament negotiations; and the \$27 million down payment for the contra war in Nicaragua was sold as humanitarian aid.

While most of the media was blabbering about a "Geneva spirit," the *Wall Street Journal* (22 November) was more up front. In an editorial, "Down From the Summit," it urged Reagan to get back to "reality [which] consists of continuing regional conflicts, such as the one in Angola." Reagan let the cat out of the bag, openly admitting to a White House plan to fund Savimbi's "contras," backed by the South African apartheid regime, no matter what Congress does: "we all believe that a covert operation would be more useful." As columnist Stephen Rosenfeld noted, Democratic "doves" and Reaganite "hawks" are united in the anti-Soviet war drive:

"Congress was slow to react, but by last summer it was aboard programs meant one way or another to aid guerrillas in Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Cambodia and Angola: the 'Reagan Doctrine'."
—*Washington Post*,
29 November

Now the White House is trying to escalate last summer's "humanitarian" aid to the Nicaraguan contras into military credits for these mercenaries. Early this month the CIA hit men managed to shoot down a Sandinista helicopter with a surface-to-air missile, and are now using this terrorist act as an argument for overt weapons aid. The present law, notes Shultz, permits a "fast vote" for military credits in the case of a "new situation" in Nicaragua (*New York Times*, 7 December). Assistant Secretary of State Elliot Abrams claims to have discovered such a shift, in the form of Cuban advisers fighting alongside Nicaraguan troops.

Such reports are pure CIA invention, inspired by the Hitlerite technique of the Big Lie. Unfortunately, neither Soviet bloc troops nor international brigades from Western countries are fighting

alongside the Nicaraguan troops. While the U.S. falsely claims that Managua is exporting revolution, the fact is that Washington is exporting *counterrevolution*, bankrolling the Somozaist "dogs of war" who repeatedly strike at peasant cooperatives and other economic "targets" in a terrorist war that has produced more than 8,000 deaths since 1981. We say: "Defense of Cuba, USSR begins in Central America! SAM-7s to Salvadoran leftist rebels and hundreds of SAM-8s to defend Managua from Reagan's terrorists! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!"

Terror and Counterterror

The "New Right" nuts now "in control" in Washington have turned the White House into "A Conservative Madhouse," in the words of columnist Russell Baker (*New York Times Magazine*, 24 November). In addition to run-of-the-mill neoconservatives, Baker identifies new neoconservatives (under 30), antique neoconservatives (devotees of Chiang Kai-shek), knee-jerk conservatives who "smell heresy and betrayal on every side," and bang-bang conservatives who "love everything that kills and want the Pentagon to go ahead and build it, no matter what it costs, whether it works or not." Anybody who dissents, he notes, "is probably a Soviet agent."

Soviet leader Gorbachev and Reagan in Geneva, as White House chief of staff Donald Regan hovers.



Fackelman-Miner/The White House

In short, the Birchite lunatic fringe of the 1960s has become the political mainstream in Reagan's America. Their program is to fight terror with "counterterror"...and if there is no terror, then it must be invented. The upper echelons of the administration and the federal bureaucracy have been flooded with ultraright ideologues, notably from lobbies like the Committee on the Present Danger. Committee members include vice president George Bush, former National Security Council member Richard Pipes, top "arms control" negotiator Paul Nitze, CIA director William Casey, Secretary of the Navy John Lehman, former UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, assistant defense secretaries Richard Perle and Fred Iklé.

This is the same crowd who opposed the 1970s "détente" with the Soviet Union as a betrayal, lobbying Congress to block the SALT II treaty even after President Carter had signed it. Neoconservative godfather Irving Kristol recently threatened at a conference of the Committee for the Free World that an "ideological reformation" must be forced on the Russians by inflicting military defeat. A series of "small defeats," in Angola, Afghanistan, Cuba and Nicaragua, could "shake the Soviet regime," he promised (*New York Times*, 25 November). This inevitably recalls Richard Pipes' declaration, at the beginning of the Reagan years, that "Soviet leaders would have to choose between peacefully changing their Communist system...or going to war."

With "bang-bang," "knee-jerk," "new-neo" and "antique-neo" conservatives now in power, Washington is gearing up for counterrevolutionary war on the Soviet Union. But this war drive, the U.S.' attempt to recover from its humiliating defeat in Vietnam a

decade ago, is a *bipartisan* effort of the partner parties of American capitalism. Nowhere is this clearer than over Nicaragua, where Daniel Ortega's trip to Moscow induced Democrats to join Republicans in voting for "humanitarian" contra aid. Blankets are already being turned into bullets only six months later, and of course this CIA army of former Somozaist mercenaries was getting U.S. military aid right along. Congressional prohibition or not. Over Cambodia and Afghanistan, liberal "doves" have been voting hundreds of millions to bankroll anti-Soviet guerrillas for years.

The Reaganites screamed about Soviet "barbarism" over the KAL 007 plane shot down over the most sensitive Soviet military bases in the Far East. But it was the Reagan administration which sent the more than 200 passengers to their fiery death, hostages in this cold-blooded Cold War spy provocation! Of course there was no protest from American imperialists in November 1983 when Jonas Savimbi's "freedom fighters" shot down an Angolan airliner, killing all 126 aboard the flight. And the Western press only published denials when Islamic rebels shot down an Afghan civil passenger plane this fall (*New York Times*, 9 September). From the MOVE massacre in Philadelphia to

Nicaragua and the Near East, wanton mass murder is the M.O. of "democratic" imperialism.

In the aftermath of Geneva, Soviet Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev has sought to portray the meeting with Reagan as a harbinger of peaceful coexistence. Not a chance: the gang in Washington is determined to regain nuclear superiority, in order to dictate their political will to the Kremlin (as well as the lesser imperialist and neocolonialist powers). But despite the debilitating effects of nationalist-reformist Stalinism, Gorbachev is not blind. On the eve of the summit the *New York Times* (15 November) reported:

"Mikhail S. Gorbachev's America is a land controlled by wealthy capitalists and conservative business interests. "Right-wing forces dictate Government policy and would never permit a lasting improvement in relations with the Soviet Union. "A profit-hungry military-industrial complex is the real force behind the development of space-based weapons."

The *Times*' mocking description is all too true. The reactionary rulers of this country are playing a dangerous game of nuclear blackmail against the Soviet Union in order to reassert the global domination of U.S. imperialism. Working people in this country had better take power away from the international terrorist maniacs in the White House before they carry out the ultimate "pre-emptive strike." Ever since Reagan busted PATCO labor has taken it on the chin. We need some good old-fashioned class struggle. To unleash the power of labor it is necessary to break with the Democrats, and build a revolutionary workers party. The only possibility of a future, whether for Nicaraguan peasants, Harlem tenants, South African black miners, or innocent airline passengers, lies in a socialist revolution, here and worldwide. ■